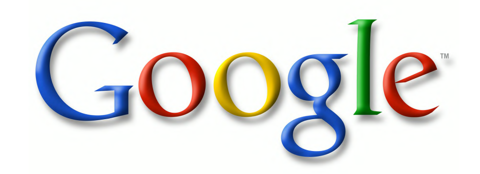




23404
f 4

LIFE

OF

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.



Toussaint Louverture.
Chief of the French Rebels in St. Domingo.

Published by H.D. Symonds, Pater Noster Row, May 1. 1802.

THE LIFE OF *TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE,*

CHIEF OF THE

FRENCH REBELS IN ST. DOMINGO.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

INTERESTING NOTES

RESPECTING

SEVERAL PERSONS WHO HAVE ACTED DISTINGUISHED PARTS

IN

ST. DOMINGO.

BY M. DUBROCA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

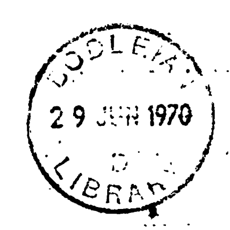
LONDON:

PRINTED BY C. WHITTINGHAM,
Dean Street, Fetter Lane.

FOR H. D. SYMONDS, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1802.




2 9 JUN 1970

THE

LIFE

OF

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

THE veil is entirely withdrawn from the profound hypocrisy and desperate ambition of TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE. The treason of that chief of the Blacks is openly maintained by him; and upon the smoking ruins of a city, set on fire by his orders, the French troops, after successfully fighting for liberty in Europe, are advancing to punish in him the enemy of their country, and of human nature. The life of this man, therefore, cannot but be interesting to the public, since he has rendered it famous by his crimes, and by the success which has too long enured him to desperate enteprises. Hitherto

restrained by the respect engendered by the proceedings of a mild and pacific government, I have forborne to write the life of this African, whose hands have long been steeped in blood; and have imposed silence upon the too faithful presentiments which even the appearance of his moderation did but the more deeply imprint on my mind. At present, however, no public interest is opposed to the publication of this history; which, though it cannot arrest the progress of events, will at least serve to justify the magnitude of the means employed against this rebel, and will offer important matter to the impatience of those who have been so long deceived respecting the character of this Negro Chief.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE was born in 1743, on an estate of the ci-devant Count DE NOE, known by the name of the estate of BREDA, about a league distant from the city of CAPE FRANCAIS, in the department

of the north in St. Domingo. By birth a slave, he passed his youth in that condition; and was employed in tending flocks on the land where he was born.

The time which his employment left on his hands being considerable, the early activity of his mind inspired him with a passion of improving it in the cultivation of his talents. He taught himself to read and write. The knowledge he then progressively attained raised him highly in the estimation of his fellow slaves, not less gratified than surprised to see one of their own condition liberate himself from the profound ignorance which seemed to be their inevitable fate.

Toussaint Louverture, able to sign his name and write tolerably, was advanced from the employment of herdsman, and began to cast his eye on situations of comparative respectability and profit. The re-

port of his acquirements reached M. BAYOU DE LIBERTAS, overseer of the estate, who thenceforth resolved to take him into his personal service, and began by making him his coachman.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE by his conduct won the esteem of his new master; although cruel to the slaves under his command, this overseer was extremely kind to TOUSSAINT; placed entire confidence in him; by degrees gave him the charge of a number of slaves, and neglected nothing that might attach him to his interest.

In these circumstances the Revolution found TOUSSAINT. Far from taking any part in the movements that preceded the insurrection of the Negroes, he seemed determined to keep aloof from all the intrigue and violence of the times; and certain it is that history has not to reproach him with taking any share in the massacres of the White people,

put to death in August 1791. His ambition was not tempted even by his intimate connection with the chiefs of the insurgent negroes, BOUCKMANT, BIASSOU, and JEAN FRANCOIS (all three black slaves); nor could his particular friendship for JEAN FRANCOIS, at that period seduce him. The fidelity he had vowed to his master, and his gratitude, seemed to have been superior to all the attractions of revenge and avarice, and often he was heard to utter imprecations on the heads of the authors of the disastrous state of the colony. This extraordinary conduct had drawn closer the ties of confidence and friendship between TOUSSAINT and his master. In the unhappy state of the colony, delivered up to the cruel revenge of the negroes, TOUSSAINT was become doubly dear to the family of the overseer. They well knew his resources; they understood what he might with ease undertake; they perceived the full extent of the influence that he might acquire over his fellow ne-

groes, and the consequences, if he should be tempted to abuse his power; and they extremely admired his moderation and disinterestedness.

But the moderation of TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE was entirely feigned. His conduct was the result of the calculations of the most profound hypocrisy, which for a while viewed only the uncertain issue of the enterprise. As soon as he saw its success assured, and the favourable crisis of his affairs appeared to him to be arrived, he suddenly escaped from his master's house, and fled to the camp of BIASSOU. This chief of the insurgents, happy to have one of so much talent and reputation for a companion of his attrocities, gave him the most cordial reception, and appointed him his secretary, or rather confidential adviser and agent

In this new office, in which so much scope was given to his genius, TOUSSAINT began

to display his military talent and the real ferocity of his character. BIASSOU sent him on various expeditions, in which he accomplished the object of his employer, the horrible result of which is but too well known in Europe; and as the reward of his service, raised him to the rank of captain of his guards.

This happened at the period when jealousy and consequent divisions rose among the black chiefs, and opened an easy career to ambition. TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, already disdaining the second rank, seized on this moment, and in concert with JEAN FRANCOIS, the rival and personal enemy of BIASSOU, formed the design of destroying his benefactor, and usurping his place.

One day as BIASSOU was asleep in his tent, he was suddenly roused, and informed

that his camp was invested by a body of 8000 blacks; and that JEAN FRANCOIS advanced at the head of his cavalry, to seize upon his person. BIASSOU ran to arms, commanded the *general* to be beat, and gave orders to the captain of his guards to post his troops for the defence of his person.

TOUSSAINT calmly executed the military movements that this extremity demanded; but, instead of resisting the enemy, he advanced to meet JEAN FRANCOIS, and delivered his master to him without striking a blow. The fate of BIASSOU was soon determined; he was deposed from his rank of General of the Insurgents, and sent prisoner to ST. AUGUSTIN, in the interior of the Island [1].

TOUSSAINT received as the recompense of his services on this occasion the command of a division, with which he too faithfully

followed the footsteps of the ferocious BIASSOU; till other events conducted him to a new scene of action.

The war which broke out in Europe between the French Republic and the leading powers of the continent, had already extended its ravages to the colonies of the new world, the dependencies of the belligerent nations. At St. Domingo, the French that were faithful to the republic had to contend not only with the negroes, who had raised the standard of revolt, and with whom the royalists and the emigrants had associated their interests, but also with the English, who harassed their coasts, and the Spaniards, who had openly declared war against them.

In the beginning of the year 1793, the Spaniards, eager to reinforce themselves with every alliance that declared itself the enemy of the French Republic, invited to serve under their colours the Negro In-

surgents of St. Domingo. JEAN FRANCOIS and TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE readily accepted of the invitation, and the first was created Lieutenant-General of the armies of the King of Spain; and TOUSSAINT raised to the rank of Adjutant-General. Both of these men were clothed with the distinctive marks of their rank, and for the first time Black Slaves were seen decked with ribbands, crosses, and other emblems of high station.

JEAN FRANCOIS and TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE now endeavoured to shew themselves worthy of so many honours, by an unlimited devotion to the interests of the Spanish government. The war they made upon the French Republicans was a war of cannibals. It was no uncommon thing for them to move with horror and disgust, even those whose instruments they were become. Every Frenchman, of whatever colour he was, if he was in the service of the Repub-

lic, was certain in falling into their hands, to find death in the midst of unexampled tortures. Surrounded with a crowd of priests and emigrants, whose counsels encreased their ferocity, these two Negro Chiefs believed themselves charged with executing the vengeance of the altar and the throne. Their zeal was distinguished by the most frightful of characters—fanaticism which murders without remorse in the name of heaven; and that extreme barbarism for which the sacred laws of nature, consanguinity, and humanity, have no restraint.

When the history of this war shall be written, before the eyes of the reader will be placed the horrible picture of men sawn in two, or mutilated in every limb, or burnt over a slow fire, or hung by the feet to a tree, and flayed alive. La Vendee alone offers some resemblance of the war, which

for two years TOUSSAINT made on the Republicans of the colony. It was in vain, during this time, that the commissaries of the French government at St. Domingo, POLVEREL and SANTONAX, endeavoured to lead him back to his duty to the mother country, in whose name they offered him, as well as to JEAN FRANCOIS, peace, liberty, and protection. These offers were answered by new and greater acts of atrocity. TOUSSAINT, thinking proper to state the motives of his conduct, wrote with his own hand to the commissaries a letter, dated the 28th of August, 1793, in which are these remarkable expressions:

" We cannot obey the will of the nation
" because we have been accustomed to
" execute that only of a king. The King
" of France is lost to us, but we are ho-
" noured with marks of distinction and
" favour by the King of Spain. For these

"reasons we cannot acknowledge you com-
"missaries of the French nation till you
"have placed a king on the throne."

This letter was dictated by a Spanish priest, curate of LAXABON, who then had the title of confessor to TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE. A little before that time this Negro Chief had addressed a proclamation to his brethren at CAPE FRANCAIS, dictated in the same spirit. It was dated June 25th, 1793.

The victories and success of the French Republic began to disgust Spain with the confederacy. TOUSSAINT foresaw the end of his employment in the Spanish service; and perhaps apprehended that he should be made a sacrifice at the peace between France and Spain. He therefore prepared to change his party, and his new treachery was accompanied with circumstances of horror. When he had joined the Spaniards he pre-

sented himself with his hands stained in republican blood: to efface the remembrance of this, if possible, he resolved, on returning to the Republicans, to offer the same trophy, and to sacrifice to them the blood of Spaniards as an atonement!

The President of the royal audience at Saint Domingo, DON JOACHIM GARCIA, had placed him under the orders of the MARQUIS D' HERMENA, one of the bravest and ablest officers of the Spanish army. On the 25th of June, 1794, TOUSSAINT, after hearing mass, and taking the sacrament with uncommon marks of devotion, quitted the church, mounted his horse, and surrounding by his own troops the Spaniards under his command, coolly ordered them all to be massacred! Old and young, men, women, and children, were indiscriminately put to the sword; many having previously undergone the extremes of brutality from the army of the Negro Chief. The churches

were pillaged; and the property of individuals, as well as of the Spanish government, carried away.

The same thing was committed by the troops of TOUSSAINT at other places beside this first scene of his treachery to the Spaniards; at GONAIRES, GROS-MORNE, DONDON, LA PETITE RIVIERE, and in every parish of the island occupied by the Spaniards.

Three hours before this massacre, TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE had renewed his oath of fidelity to the King of Spain before DON GARCIA and the MARQUIS D'HERMENA! It was no sooner committed, than he marched with his troops to PORT DE PAIX, where he took the oath of fidelity to the French Republic, in the presence of GENERAL ETIENNE LAVEAUX, who at that time commanded in Saint Domingo![2]

This General, acquainted with the extraordinary events in which TOUSSAINT had taken a part, was at first little disposed to grant him his confidence. Reduced to inaction, suspected, and watched, this Negro Chief seemed to have attained the end of his political career: but a circumstance equally unexpected and unfortunate brought him suddenly again upon the scene, and opened new and more flattering prospects to his ambition.

In the month of Ventose, in the fourth year of the Republic, a popular sedition, fomented and increased by three Mulatto Chiefs, broke out in the city of CAPE FRANCAIS. GENERAL LAVEAUX was the intended victim of this insurrection: he was seized and declared a prisoner. On receiving this news, which suddenly awakened all his hopes, and gave new food to his ambition, TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, supported by the friends of the Republic, armed in

behalf of the Governor, and marched against the city at the head of ten thousand men. Terrified with the preparations for a siege, the inhabitants opened their gates. TOUSSAINT entered the city as a conqueror, released GENERAL LAVEAUX, and solemnly reinstated him in the functions of his government.

This unexpected event suddenly restored to TOUSSAINT the high estimation he seemed for ever to have lost, and in fact rendered him arbiter of the fate of the colony. In the infatuation of his gratitude GENERAL LAVEAUX proclaimed him the avenger of the constituted authorities, and the Saviour of the white people.

" He is," said the General [3], " that Ne-
" gro that Spartacus foretold by Raynal,
" whose destiny it is to avenge the wrongs
" committed on his race!"

And to this extravagance LAVEAUX added, that thenceforth he should never take any step but in concert with the Negro Chief.

In fact, TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE was made General of Division, and Lieutenant Governor of Saint Domingo; and thus elevated, saw himself in a condition successfully to prepare the way for his own usurpation. He had already made some progress in this great work, by propagating through every possible channel the expectation of the future independance of the colonies in the West Indies[4], when the arrival of new agents from France, commissioned by the Executive Directory to proclaim the constitution of the third year of the Republic, (1795) opportunely for his purposes, added greatly to his influence, and furnished new arms to his ambition.

These agents had instructions to express, in the strongest terms, to TOUSSAINT, the

good will and respect of the French Government, and to acknowledge by new favours the services he had rendered the Republic, in rescuing GENERAL LAVEAUX, protecting the constituted authorities, and saving the colony from the internal factions which threatened its destruction.

The Commissioners of the Executive Directory had scarcely landed in Saint Domingo when they hastened to fulfil the wishes of the French Government towards TOUSSAINT. They received him with marks of the most distinguished favour, and invited him to render further services to the mother country by driving the English from the colony. At this period it was that England began to act openly against Saint Domingo; and the English forces had already seized upon several cantons, and threatened the whole colony with a speedy invasion.

Strengthened by the confidence of the French Government, and aided with the counsels of able men in the colony, TOUSSAINT, after several affairs, in which he displayed great military talents and uncommon personal courage, at length wrested from the English, LE MIRBALAIS, LES GRAND BOIS, and other places which they had seized. His conduct during this war was brilliant and without stain; and that epoch of his life would be truly great, if the services he rendered the Republic at that time had not been, like all that preceded, subservient to his ambition. It was not, as yet, his interest to conduct the war feebly against the English, or to act in concert with them: his projects demanded, that he should first give every pledge of fidelity[5] to the French Government, to possess its intire confidence; and obtain new honours and power, to facilitate the execution of his designs.

TOUSSAINT seldom deceived himself: the Commissioners of the Executive Directory,

grateful for his services, and desirous of giving new proofs of their satisfaction, declared him General in Chief of the Armies of Saint Domingo. This most important appointment he received in GERMINAL, fifth year of the Republic, March 1797.

But even this was not the whole advantage he derived from his victories. The report of his splendid actions passing rapidly from the new world to France, spread the greatest glory round the name of TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE. In the tribune of the Council of Ancients his exploits were vaunted with the utmost enthusiasm. He was spoken of as the Saviour of the colony, and as one of the most faithful and strenuous partisans of the French Republic. His various attrocities were no longer called to mind. His apparent zeal for the welfare of France imposed upon the nation; and the hypocritical assumption of virtuous and noble sentiments, which then and now seemed to direct his conduct, as they grace his proclamations and

discourse, completely blinded even those who were inclined to fear him.

While every thing seemed to increase harmony between the Commissioners of the French Government and the General in Chief, and shortly after the colony began to breathe again as it recovered from its troubles; TOUSSAINT suddenly, in the beginning of FRUCTIDOR, fifth year of the Republic (August, 1797) resolved to accelerate the progress of his ambition; and entering CAPE FRANCAIS at the head of a large escort of cavalry, he alighted at the house of SANTONAX. This Commissioner, wholly without suspicion of the cause which brought TOUSSAINT to the Cape, received him with the honours due to his rank, and with that welcome which became the representative of the French Republic.

One day passed in mutual expressions of esteem and confidence between the Commissioner and the Commander in Chief.

On the following day, TOUSSAINT caused the *general* to be beat, reviewed the garrison of the town, and retired to his quarters. He then invited to a repast the commanders of the several corps, and all the other principal military and civil officers of the city. Having bribed part of these, and secured their voices, he openly proposed to send SANTONAX back to France.

This was the period when that commissioner was so vehemently denounced in the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, by VAUBLANC, and other deputies, excluded from the Legislative Body, on the 18th Fructidor, (Sept. 6th.) Time and events have sufficiently declared between SANTONAX and his accusers, and TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE; and I shall pass this denunciation without comment.

Notwithstanding the art and the ferocious character of TOUSSAINT, he failed in his attempt to gain all the principal officers of the

army. ETIENNE MENTOR, at that time Adjutant-General, and who has since been Deputy from St. Domingo to the Council of Five Hundred, had the courage steadily to resist the proposition of TOUSSAINT, and to develope its dreadful consequences to his brother officers. He took a step yet more bold; assembling the officers under his command, and others of his opinion, he administered to them an oath of attachment and fidelity to the French Republic, and of death to whomsoever should speak of a separation from the mother country. This generous and noble conduct being reported to TOUSSAINT, he gave an order under his own hand to arrest him. CHRISTOPHE, the faithful agent of the tyranny of TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE (the same, who by his orders lately set fire to Cape Français, on the debarkment of the French troops) was charged with the execution of the order. In the middle of the night, MENTOR was arrested and thrown into prison [6].

After this act of violence, which robbed the French party among the negroes of their chief, and the soul of their measures, TOUSSAINT again assembled the officers of the army, whom he knew to be attached to the mother country, and those of whose devotion to himself he was not assured. The impulse had been given to them by the virtuous MENTOR, and they unanimously refused their consent to the proposition of sending SANTONAX to France. General LEVEILLE, commandant of the battalion of CLOUARD, and GASSONVILLE, colonel of artillery, were loudest in their expressions of indignation at TOUSSAINT's project, and in the heat of discussion they even proposed to arrest him.

At the very moment when the military officers deliberated on TOUSSAINT's proposition, the Municipality of the Cape, the Constituted Authorities, and the populace, openly expressed their disapprobation of it.

The clamour became great, and a general insurrection seemed inevitable, when Toussaint, informed by his spies of what passed, retired with precipitation to La petite Anse.

Mad with fury at seeing this steady opposition to his will, the General assembled his troops, and invited them to a universal massacre and plunder. Santonax, now convinced that his presence at the Cape would draw upon that unhappy city all the miseries of a civil war, and would probably lay it in ashes, resolved to embark for France, rather than expose the capital of the island, and its inhabitants, to the vengeance of Toussaint.

Santonax sailed from St. Domingo on the 7th of Fructidor, 5th Year of the Republic (August 25, 1797.) His colleagues had already quitted the colony, except Raymond, a Mulatto, devoted to the interests

of TOUSSAINT, who, to save appearances, was very ready to commit to him the administration of the colony, after the departure of SANTONAX.

The General foreseeing that the violence he had committed on the French Commissioner would excite great indignation at Paris, and fearing that this measure, by prematurely unveiling his designs, might draw upon him an opposition too powerful for him at that time to combat, dispatched three agents to France (a Negro, Mulatto, and VINCENT, an Officer of the engineers) to excuse his conduct. They were instructed in his name to denounce SANTONAX to the Directory, as intending to proclaim the independence of St. Domingo, and usurp the supreme power in that colony.

I need not call to the reader's mind how eagerly this denunciation was received, and

how rapidly it was propagated through France as an incontestible fact. TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE completely triumphed; his enterprise was so far from being suspected, that he was every where applauded. He was again hailed the saviour of the colony, and the Directory expressed its satisfaction and gratitude; aiding the delusion by a present of a habit richly embroidered, a most elegant sabre, and several pair of pistols of the manufactory at Versailles.

While TOUSSAINT gained this decisive triumph in France, he compelled by his intrigues and violence the commissioner RAYMOND to put into his hands the entire and absolute administration of the colony.

RAYMOND, after having been, as I have stated, the creature of TOUSSAINT, no sooner saw himself, as he thought, securely seated in power, than he began to affect in-

dependence in his measures, and even demanded an account of sums left in the coffers of government by SANTONAX, and ventured, on occasions, to oppose the will of the General. Nothing more was wanting to draw ruin upon him. The garrison of the Cape, who had received no pay since the departure of SANTONAX, one day revolted, and flew to arms. Secret emissaries of the General directed their fury against RAYMOND, and the commissioner, with great terror, resigned to the hands of TOUSSAINT an administration too dangerous for him to preserve. This last sacrifice of RAYMOND was not left without an apparent reward. By the influence of the General he was appointed Deputy to the Legislative Body, of the 6th Year of the Republic, with which title he was sent to France; TOUSSAINT regarding little the effects of his nomination in that country, since he had banished from the colony a man who presumed for a moment to oppose his will.

The Executive Directory, although they highly extolled the conduct of TOUSSAINT, resolved to replace SANTONAX by a commissioner in whom they could confide. For this important office was selected GENERAL HEDOUVILLE, a man who, by his irreproachable manners, his great military knowledge, and the mildness of his principles, was admirably qualified to repair the disasters of the colony, and reflect honour on the mother country.

But these qualities, so necessary to the interests of France, were precisely those which were the objects of TOUSSAINT's detestation. It was not possible that a magistrate devoted to the duties of his office, an upright and severe administrator of the public concerns, the sincere friend of his country, and the acute observer of the human mind, could long exist in safety near an enterprising, ambitious, deceitful man, who had entirely misled France as to his character, and who

had long resolved on the usurpation of the supreme authority in the island.

HEDOUVILLE, at his arrival at the Cape, found that the General in Chief was employed in a military operation; the circumstances of which deserve to be related, not only because they are connected with HEDOUVILLE's disgrace, but because they serve remarkably to exhibit the perfidy of the Negro Chief. As this man, always powerful in his means, approached the epoch when his treachery might be completed and avowed, he sought to ally to his interests the powers who were enemies of France. It may well be supposed that England was the first whose aid he solicited on this occasion. In this critical moment of his fortune, the English general (Maitland) proposed to TOUSSAINT to evacuate SAINT MARK, PORT AU PRINCE, JEREMIE, the MOLE, and other places in Saint Domingo, in the possession of the English troops. This proposition being conveyed to GENERAL HEDOUVILLE, the

Commissioner, as the direct agent of the Republic, readily accepted of the overture, reserving to himself the power of regulating the treaty on such terms as were consistent with the dignity of the government he had the honour to represent. The express reservation of HEDOUVILLE terrified the emigrant colonists, then resident in the places occupied by the English. They openly tore down the proclamations of the French Commissioner, caused the preliminaries to be broken; and declared, that they would acknowledge no authority from France, but that of TOUSSAINT, with whom alone they would consent to treat. In the end, the capitulation, such as it pleased General Maitland and the emigrant colonists to frame, was concluded, without the participation of HEDOUVILLE, between the Negro Chief and the English general [7].

After this open act of treason to the mother country, TOUSSAINT proceeded to the MOLÈ, where he made his entry, with a

pomp that ought to have been the scoff of the inhabitants, who had so many reasons to despise him [*]. He was received at the principal gate under a grand pavilion, and then conducted, with the acclamations of the populace and the sound of cannon, to the municipality, who had prepared a magnificent repast for him. Afterwards the English troops passed in review before him, and finally, General Maitland, in the name of the King of England, presented him with a fine piece of brass ordnance.

The outrage committed on the French Republic, in the person of its agent, excited murmurs among the colonists still attached to the mother country. To crush these, and to find a pretext to send HEDOUVILLE back to Europe, the Negro Chief employed new machinations. He represented HEDOUVILLE as an enemy of the Blacks, and secretly planning the means of delivering them again to slavery. He ensured the

French Commissioner into the adoption of a regulation on the culture of the colony which he himself had digested. When the regulation was made public and proclaimed, MOYSE, CHRISTOPHE, and other hired agents of the Negro Chief, raised a cry against the Commissioners of tyranny and a violation of the rights of men. The law was represented as an attempt on the liberty of the Blacks, and the life of HEDOUVILLE was openly menaced: two of his aid-de-camps were massacred near the town of SAINT MARK, as they were returning to the Cape from a mission on which they had been sent by HEDOUVILLE.

Added to these subjects of alarm, TOUSSAINT advanced at the head of his army against HEDOUVILLE, professing his design to exterminate him, with all the white people of the colony. HEDOUVILLE resolved to return to France, and embarked in the month of Nivose, (beginning December 22d,

ending January 20th,) seventh year of the Republic, after no more than three months residence at the Cape.

I cannot proceed without lamenting the prejudices which existed at that time in favour of TOUSSAINT in the very heart of the French Government. Neither the acknowledged integrity of HEDOUVILLE, nor his remonstrances, supported by proof, could open the eyes of the Directory. In answer to the memorials of the French Commissioner appeared once more COLONEL VINCENT, the faithful creature of TOUSSAINT, who artfully accusing HEDOUVILLE of the design of overthrowing the liberty of the Blacks, of aiming at illegal power, and having misapplied the public funds, obtained his object, which was, to turn the attention of the government from the real culprit; and to disgrace the virtuous citizen, who reaped from his dangerous mission only the consciousness of his own integrity, and the

knowledge of circumstances the most menacing to the interests of France.

The French Commissioner SANTONAX, and still more GENERAL HEDOUVILLE, had left behind them at Saint Domingo numerous partisans, who, during their respective administrations, had defended their interests, and opposed the violence of TOUSSAINT when he drove them from the island. These generous citizens had not been overlooked by the Negro Chief, but were reserved for the day of his vengeance. Absolute master of the island after the departure of HEDOUVILLE, and there being no longer any consideration to temper his rage, he resolved to immolate them to his offended pride: the greater part were arrested, thrown into prison, and afterwards shot, as partisans of France. Among the distinguished victims of their patriotism were BARTHELEMY DU LIMBE and CHRISTOPHE MORNAI, chiefs of brigade; PIERRE MICHEL, general of bri-

gade; citizens BIJOUX-MOLINE, EDOUARD COLLOT; and PIERRE PAUL, judge of the criminal tribunal: others were drowned at night in the roads of SAINT MARK; among these latter was NOEL LEVEILLE, colonel of the third regiment, an officer distinguished for his military talents and attachment to the mother country. The regret which his soldiers expressed at his death drew upon them the vengeance of TOUSSAINT; the regiment was sent to the MOLE, and soon afterwards broke.

Many other persons would have fallen before the ferocious African, resolved at his leisure to taste the sweets of revenge, had they not, perceiving their danger, chosen rather to abandon their families and property than to fall beneath his sword. TOUSSAINT no longer proceeded silently or secretly in the career of his ambition; while he devoted to death the friends of France, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances

with the powers at war with the Republic. In the Morning Chronicle, of the date of the 18th Thermidor, (4th August) seventh year of the Republic, appeared a paragraph, which proves that TOUSSAINT's negotiations at London were not ineffectual:

"On Saturday last" (27th July) says this journal, "General Maitland arrived in the "last Jamaica fleet. We are happy to in-"form our readers, that this distinguished "officer has completely succeeded in his "negotiation with TOUSSAINT LOUVER-"TÛRE. He has placed our commercial "relations with Saint Domingo on a foot-"ing which secures us all we could de-"rive from it, without in any degree en-"dangering the security of our own co-"lonies."

I have no intention, in citing this paragraph, to blame or misrepresent the English nation, which, at that time the enemy of

France, had the incontestible right to sustain itself by such alliances as it could make; my design is to shew the profound dissimulation and perfidy of TOUSSAINT, who, while by his agents he lulled the French government into the most perfect security, treated with the enemies of the Republic to the sacrifice of its interests.

After General Hedouville's return to France, ROUME, who resided at SANTO DOMINGO, as agent of the French Republic, received orders from the Directory to repair to the Cape, and assume the reins of the general administration of the Island.

The new French agent, whom so many dangers waited at his post, was indebted for the repose which he enjoyed in the few first months of his administration, to events which arose shortly after his arrival at the Cape. The Negro Chief, instead of opposing his installation, had at that time motives to sanc-

tion his authority. His purpose was to employ the power and influence of ROUME in support of the war he had declared against RIGAUD, a Mulatto General in the South. The disasters which followed that intestine and fatal war long plunged St. Domingo in mourning. The two parties mutually bathed their hands in each other's blood. The Negro Chief made it the occasion to destroy two-thirds of the population of the Mulattoes in St. Domingo, and the whole of the Black proprietors, who bore the name of the French faction. RIGAUD was finally subdued, but found means to escape from the colony with his family, and fled to France. TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, on a triumphal march in the South, ordered the friends and intimate connections of RIGAUD to be shot, who had surrendered to him on the faith of the most solemn assurances of pardon from him. TOUSSAINT, now freed from a rival, who had endangered his power, turned his intrigues upon the French Commissioner

ROUME, whose political existence was no longer necessary to his projects. He excited an insurrection against ROUME, at the conclusion of which the agent of the French government was seized upon, and conveyed to the camp of BREDA. The perpetrator of this crime was the General of Brigade MOYSE, nephew of TOUSSAINT, and at that time in his most intimate confidence. ROUME was held a prisoner in the camp of BREDA during nine days, exposed to the insults and outrages of the vile agents of TOUSSAINT. The scene of these insults past before the eyes of the Commander in Chief, who did not even affect to put an end to them. His present object was to intimidate the French Commissioner, and to obtain an important sacrifice, necessary to the completion of his power.

After nine days imprisonment and alarm, the French Commissioner saw before him MOYSE, who demanded of him to give his

authority in writing to the Negro Chief to take possession of the part of the Spanish colonies ceded to France by the treaty of peace concluded between the French Republic and his Majesty the King of Spain.

At hearing this proposition, the French agent saw the abyss that opened beneath his feet. Determined however to sustain the high character confided to him by the Republic, and to remain faithful to his duties in this extremity, he answered, that he could not subscribe such an order. The creature of TOUSSAINT threatened to shoot him and his wife and children. The French Commissioner was unmoved. Enraged at his constancy, his oppressors shewed him the preparations for his execution, while, as long as himself and his own family were the only objects of his enemies threats, the unfortunate ROUME steadily persisted in his refusal: but then an irresistible torture was to be applied to him. He heard the shouts

and clamours of the Blacks, who demanded, with the sacrifice of the French agent and his family, the massacre of all the White people in the colony, if the French Commissioner did not accede to the wishes of their Chief. The firmness of ROUME now failed him, and he promised whatever was demanded of him.

Surrounded with the furious troops of TOUSSAINT, the unfortunate ROUME wrote with a trembling hand to DON JOACHIM GARCIA, at SANTO DOMINGO, in terms dictated by TOUSSAINT, inviting him to deliver the Spanish part of the Island, comprehended in the treaty of peace, to the General in Chief of the French army in St. Domingo, or to his officer.

DON JOACHIM GARCIA protested at first with great indignation against this act of the French Commissioner; but threatened with invasion by TOUSSAINT, he endeavoured to

delay the affair by negotiation, that he might have time to inform his government of what past; he therefore demanded three months to evacuate the Spanish possessions. TOUSSAINT feigned to grant this delay, and the Spanish commander, reposing in security on his engagements, patiently waited the answer of his government. Suddenly he was informed, that Generals PAUL (brother of TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE) and D'HEBECOUR advanced at the head of 10,000 men, to seize upon Santa Domingo.

Surprised and disconcerted, the Spaniards made a faint resistance; driven in every part, they evacuated St. Domingo, and retired into the Island of CUBA and PORTO-RICO. After this expedition, which made Toussaint master of the Spanish possessions, which he had eagerly coveted, the unfortunate French Commissioner was deposed from his government, and conducted to a small town in the interior of the Island,

where he remained seven months in fetters. Restored to liberty, after the news arrived at St. Domingo of the French expedition preparing against that Island, he retired to the American States, waiting a favourable opportunity to return to England.

Toussaint, rendered absolute master of the Island, and without rival, has never ceased to exercise a tyranny almost as intolerable in its means as in its object. At the conclusion of the late troubles, which agitated the northern part of the Island, in which near 600 White people were slain, together with all the Black domestics of the estates on which they resided, the Negro Chief caused his own nephew, General Moyse, to be shot; the same who had been the secret agent of his dark intrigues.

There wanted but one formal act to add to the splendour of the successful ambition of this perfidious African; this was solemnly

to dissolve the ties which united the colony to the mother country; to proclaim his independence by public acts, and constitute himself the supreme head of the Island. This last enterprise, so long meditated, and so steadily prepared, in the midst of so many treasons, characterised with the blood of so many victims, was executed on the 13th Messidor, (1st July) 9th Year of the Republic. The constitution which the French colony of St. Domingo assumed at that period, affected to preserve some relations between the mother country and the colony; but, in fact, entirely annihilated all such. It is the name of TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, that man grown old in the execution of crimes, the assassin of his benefactors, hypocritical and perjured, and abhorred of all nations, which is placed at the head of this constitution! But the inhabitants of ST. DOMINGO, and above all those Blacks who owe to France the inexpressible benefit of liberty, who have often shed their blood

for the mother country, who by their valour have signalized their restoration to their natural rights, and who are characterized as much by attachment to their friends as hatred to their oppressors, can never have consented to a constitution which separates them from their benefactors, cuts them off from a country of which they are the children, and delivers them into the hands of a tyrant, whose fury they have so often experienced. This constitution is not their work; it is the contrivance of a factious party, who, in arms, uniting themselves to their Chief, after spreading terror by their cruelties through all bosoms, have dared to call their will by the sacred name of the will of the people, and present to the world the code which guarantees the personal ambition of the majority of the citizens [9].

The interval which has passed between the publication of the act we are speaking

of, (the open evidence of the treason of TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE) and the commencement of the expedition prepared by France against the traitor, speaks too plainly in favour of the French government to permit me to endeavour, by my own reflections, to add to the universal sentiment which proclaims that government the pacificator of the world. What has the First Consul left unattempted to lead back to honour and his duty, to the interests of the mother country, and even his own proper interest, this man, who perhaps had the stupidity to take for the language of fear that of clemency and humanity? Till all means of conciliation had been tried, the expedition had never been resolved on; and then, how much in the spirit of peace was even this attempt begun! Those vessels that bore with them the thunder of the Republic, to chastise a rebel, carried also the most sacred pledges of the mildness and magnanimity of the French government. The ministers of the

public vengeance were instructed, rather than crush the culprit with force, to endeavour to reclaim him, by a benefaction the most touching to the heart of a man who had not abjured all the sentiments of nature; by restoring to him his two sons, so long separated from their father, and so carefully and generously educated in the midst of a nation which he betrayed!

But neither the clemency of the French Government, nor the unbounded proofs of its kindness, could subdue this ferocious Negro: too much accustomed, doubtless, to plunder, and to the enjoyment of unqualified tyranny to enter into a just and civilized order of things, which must have restrained his ruinous ambition. TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE has completed his crimes; and by his audacious resistance put a term to the pacific dispositions of the French Government. It belongs now to the courage of the French troops to finish this disgraceful

contest. May victory, so long the ally of the French Republic, continue faithful to her in this enterprize! May the happy genius of the great Chief of the nation hover over the operations of this war, to accelerate its conclusion, and to spare the blood of the French people, which so many secret enemies, no doubt, wish to see entirely shed!

The singular importance of the expedition under GENERAL LECLERC against St. Domingo, and the conduct of TOUSSAINT when the French force appeared before that island, induce me to give a detail of the affair, although recently laid before the public.

This expedition, which imperious necessity imposed upon France for the preservation of its authority and honour, was preceded, as I have already remarked, on the part of the Republic by the most gracious

and conciliatory counsels. The letter of the First Consul to TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, written in the month of Brumaire, and the proclamation of the same date to the inhabitants of St. Domingo, are before the public, a memorial of the grandeur and generosity of the French Government; and will pass to the latest posterity, to cover with opprobrium the monster who has misrepresented its language, and scorned its benign dispositions!

On the morning of the 9th of Pluvose, the French squadron, commanded by ADMIRAL VILLARET, having on board the army destined for the expedition, arrived at CAPE SAMANA, after a voyage of forty-six days. On the 10th the Admiral received by the Syren frigate, which he had dispatched to GUADALOUPE, an account of the insurrection that had recently taken place in that island. This news, joined to intelligence of movements in other islands, inspired the

generals with a mistrust of the reception they had to expect. GENERAL LECLERC immediately ordered GENERAL KERVERSAN to proceed with his division to Santo Domingo, to check at its commencement a general insurrection, if that should be attempted.

This previous disposition made, the French squadron continued its route, and arrived on the 11th at the heights of LA GRANGE, where the naval and military forces were divided into three divisions. The first, under Rear ADMIRAL LATUOCHE, had orders to land a body of the troops commanded by GENERAL BOUDET at PORT AU PRINCE. The second, under CAPTAIN MAGON, to land the division of GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU in MANCENILLO BAY, and support his attack upon FORT DAUPHIN; and the third, under GENERAL LECLERC, was reserved to attack the Cape and the neighbouring posts.

On the evening of the 13th, the necessary dispositions being made, the Admiral gave the signal to Rear ADMIRAL LATOUCHE and CAPTAIN MAGON to lead on their divisions; and on the morning of the 14th he presented himself before the city of CAPE FRANCAIS with his division.

The road of the Cape, which is difficult to ordinary vessels, is not without danger to ships of the line; and the entrance is not practicable but with a breeze, which rises regularly about eleven in the morning and blows for several hours. The Admiral ordered the two frigates LA CLORINDE and L'URANIE, and the L' AIGUILLE cutter, to reconnoitre the entrance of the road; to learn if the buoys were taken up, and to observe the state of the fortifications. The cutter was fired upon from Fort PICCOLET.

While this passed, a Mulatto, named SANCOS, who held the office of Port Captain at

the Cape, went on board the French Admiral, and in the name of the Negro General, CHRISTOPHE, demanded of the French General, that he should peaceably wait the return of a courier dispatched to TOUSSAINT; and declared, on a refusal of which, the moment the squadron attempted to enter the port, all the white people in CAPE FRANCAIS should be massacred, and the town set on fire!

GENERAL LECLERC, persuaded that so violent a resolution could be the result only of unjust fears of the intentions of the French Government, wrote to CHRISTOPHE, displaying to him the benign disposition of the First Consul, and endeavouring to lead him back to his duty as a soldier and a French citizen. The General's letter, with which were inclosed a great number of copies of the First Consul's proclamation, was taken to the town by LE BRUN, a naval officer. The next morning LE BRUN returned, with

a repetition of the message brought by SANGOS. CHRISTOPHE sent an absolute refusal to receive the French troops, repeating his determination to burn the city and the neighbouring estates if the French squadron advanced.

Meantime a deputation from the town arrived on board the fleet, to conjure the French General to take into consideration the unhappy circumstances of the inhabitants. The deputation consisted of the mayor, the commandant of the national guard, the curate, and three principal citizens. They solemnly declared, that on the first signal of a debarkation the city and plain of the Cape would be set on fire, and the white people put to the sword. The General sent back the deputation, commanding the mayor to read the First Consul's proclamation to his fellow citizens, and to unmask to them the perfidious designs of their leaders. The deputation having

returned to the town, CÆSAR TELEMAQUE, the mayor, a negro attached to the mother country, executed the orders of the General with the most perfect zeal and intrepidity.

In the midst of the anxiety occasioned by the declared resolution of the Blacks to destroy the town, GENERAL LECLERC conceived a design, which at once afforded some hopes to the cause of humanity, and was consistent with the indispensable object of the expedition. He imagined, that by landing his troops at LE LIMBE, he might gain the heights of the Cape before the Negroes could execute their cruel purpose; and that, if he could not save the city, he could at least save the neighbouring estates. The necessary dispositions were therefore made, and the General sailed in the night; but it being calm he could not reach LE LIMBE before day-light.

Meantime the expedition of CAPTAIN MAGON to FORT DAUPHIN had perfectly succeeded. The Negroes opposed his landing in MANCENILLO BAY; crying, "No French-"men! no white men!" and firing with musquetry on the boats. CAPTAIN MAGON executed the debarkation with equal promptness and intelligence; and as soon as the troops were on their march to FORT DAUPHIN, he prepared his division with all possible dispatch to force the narrow and dangerous passage at the entrance of that port. A calm arrested his zeal and courage for several hours, during which, however, GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU turned the fort of LABOUQUE and the battery of L'ANSE, in which the Negroes defended themselves with extreme obstinacy.

At length a breeze enabled CAPTAIN MAGON to present himself before the fort belonging to the town, which received him with cannon-shot. He soon made himself

master of this fort, which he found well furnished with artillery in very excellent condition, a considerable quantity of ammunition: and what no longer left any doubt as to the plan concerted by the rebels, written orders of GENERAL CHRISTOPHE to the commandant of the fort, in the following terms: *To defend himself against the French to the last extremity; if possible, to sink their vessels: and, if he could not maintain his position, to set fire to every thing in his retreat.*

While the attack was made on FORT DAUPHIN the commander in chief advanced towards LE LIMBE, where he arrived on the 16th at three o'clock in the afternoon. In this place was a battery, but the debarkation was effected with such rapidity and success that the troops received no injury. The General instantly proceeded toward the Cape. All the habitations and the land were deserted. The proprietors and la-

bourers had all fled; among whom a report had been spread, that the fleet was composed of Spaniards and English, who had resolved to conquer the island, and put all the inhabitants to the sword.

According to the orders of the General, the attack on the Cape by the men of war was to be combined with his attempt. ADMIRAL VILLARET perceiving by his signals that his descent was successful, ordered the PATRIOT and SCIPIO to present themselves at the entrance of the port, to draw upon them the attention of the enemy. The SCIPIO was no sooner within shot of FORT PICCOLET than all the forts opened upon her a shower of bombs and cannon shot.

In this very instant the horrible threat of the Negroes was put in execution. The squadron saw the city on fire: and this spectacle was rendered still more shocking by the arrival of night; during which the

anxiety of the French was carried to the greatest extreme, by their total inability to afford any succour to the wretched victims of this attrocious deed!

When the day appeared the Admiral, taking advantage of the first rise of the morning breeze, placed his vessel at the head of the squadron, ordering the other ships to follow him. Forts Piccolet and Saint Joseph were deserted, but the battery of the arsenal, and Forts Bellair and Saint Michael continued to fire. The French squadron came to anchor without firing a single shot; and the troops on board the vessels were landed under the orders of Captain Laroque.

General Humbert, who was on board La Revolution with three hundred men, took the command of several detachments, with which he formed a body of one thousand two hundred men; and making himself mas-

ter of Fort Bellair, to facilitate the march of the General in Chief, he afterwards proceeded to join him. When General Leclerc entered the town of Cape Francais French troops were already occupied in saving the ruins of that unhappy city. The General's presence restored order and confidence. The inhabitants who had escaped the massacre assembled round him; among these was the intrepid Cæsar Telemaque, who had been rescued by some French soldiers from assassins that were actually in pursuit of him; and the Commander in Chief, informed of his undaunted efforts to save the city and its inhabitants from the fury of the Blacks, instantly named him mayor of the town, under the authority of the French Republic.

I shall finish the life Toussaint Louverture with a short sketch of his person and character.

This celebrated Negro is of the middle stature. He has a fine eye, and his glances are rapid and penetrating. Extremely sober by habit, his activity in the prosecution of his enterprizes is incessant. He is an excellent horseman, and travels on occasion with inconceivable rapidity, arriving frequently at the end of his journey alone, or almost unattended, his aides-de-camp and his domestics being unable to follow him in journies which are often of fifty or sixty leagues. He sleeps generally in his clothes, and gives very little time either to repose or his meals.

His dress is usually a general's uniform. He always has a handkerchief twisted round his head, over which he wears a military hat.

His disposition is dark and taciturn. He seldom speaks the French language, and that very ill. All his actions are covered with

such a profound veil of hypocrisy, that, although his intire life has been a series of treachery or crimes, all who approach him are betrayed into an opinion of the purity of his intentions. The MARQUIS D'HERMONA, that intelligent and distinguished Spanish officer, of whom I have already spoken, said of him, "If God descended on earth "he could not inhabit a heart more appa-"rently good than that of TOUSSAINT "LOUVERTURE."[10]

His character is a strange and frightful mixture of fanaticism and fierce passions. He passes without remorse from the altar to premeditated carnage, and from devotion to the darkest contrivances of perfidy. He appears always surrounded by priests, for whom he affects uncommon veneration. Priests generally draw up his proclamations. He lately had three confessors: an Italian ecclesiastic named MARTINI, the curate of

CAPE FRANCAIS, and the ABBE MOLIERE, resident in that city.

But all this exterior of devotion is no other than a mask, with which he finds it useful to cover the depraved passions of his heart, more successfully to direct the blind credulity of the Negroes. If he were still further to extend his hypocrisy and his influence over them, of which he is capable, if he sees need, it cannot be doubted that with the extravagant ideas the Blacks have formed of him, seconded by the priests, who are devoted to his service, he might assume the character of an inspired personage, and be obeyed in his commands to his followers, to commit all crimes in the name of heaven.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE is not sincerely attached to the liberation of the Negroes, and detests the dominion of Europeans. He loathes with a mortal hatred the Mulattoes,

whose race in the colony he has almost rooted out. He despises his own brethren the negroes, whom he employs merely as instruments of his ambition, and whose death he coldly commands by thousands, when his power is in the least menaced.

He abused the confidence of his first benefactors. He betrayed his own faction, the Spanish, English, Mulattoes, White people, France under royal government, Republican France, his own blood, his country, and the religion he professes to respect.

Such is the portrait of TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, whose life, when there shall be opportunity of writing it with more ample circumstances, will furnish a striking example of the crimes to which ambition will lead, when education, integrity, and honour, do not check its natural progress.

THE END.

NOTES.

[1] THIS Negro Chief, whose innumerable cruelties, if their history is ever given to the world, will excite the most extreme horror, died of grief, or rather with excessive rage, sometime after his imprisonment at St. Augustin. As to Bouckmant, after he had escaped from the vengeance of Biassou, he was defeated, and lost his life in a battle which was fought near the Cape. His head was placed on a pike planted in the middle of the Place D'Armes of the town, with the following inscription attached to it:—*The head of Bouckmant, leader of the Insurgents.* Never perhaps did the head of a dead body preserve so much expression. The eyes were open, and seemed still to glow with rage. It might almost be said, that he was about to give the signal of a massacre. He fell, after receiving a number of wounds from musket-shots and bayonets, defending himself with great vigour to the last.

[2] Toussaint had not the satisfaction of having his companion in arms, Jean Francois, for the companion of his treachery. Jean Francois preserved his fidelity to Spain. He resides at present at Cadiz, with the title and appointments of Lieutenant-General of the armies of the King. He lives with considerable splendour, having ten negro officers in his service.

[3] Proclamation of the 30th Ventose.

[4] This ferocious Chief, who believed himself reconciled to heaven and human nature, when he had received a priest's absolution for his dreadful crimes, was become the most zealous partizan and advocate of Raynal's book, which he had persuaded himself pointed out his own destiny, in the chapters which treat of the probable future independence of the colonies in the new world. He warmly recommended the reading of those chapters to his followers. The wrongs the author had committed towards religion and the priesthood, were effaced in his feeling by the principles and predictions which flattered his ambition. Raynal's book and the Rosary formed the talisman with which he governed the weak and superstitious blacks, the instruments of his power.

[5] The pledge which most seduced those who still entertained suspicions of Toussaint, and which is perhaps the strongest proof of his dissimulation, was his sending his two sons to France. The sincerity of the father was no longer doubted, when he placed in the hands of the Republic the fate of his two children. May the French government, in returning this precious pledge, never have cause to repent their placing so much confidence in the sentiments of nature and gratitude in a man who so often has trodden them all under foot.

[6] This distinguished officer, who on this occasion acted a part so dangerous and honourable, deserves to be particularly mentioned in this place. It is not only a tribute due personally to himself, but a tribute addressed through him to the numerous class

of negroes who have remained faithful to the Republic, and whom neither proscriptions, danger, nor the excess of suffering, could withdraw from their generous fidelity.

ETIENNE MENTOR, a free negro, and proprietor of an estate at ST. PIERRE in MARTINIQUE, where he was born in 1771, had received from nature those qualities which prepare men to support, with constancy and courage, the greatest vicissitudes of life, and from education, those principles and accomplishments which embellish times of tranquillity. The Revolution placed him, with the rest of his class, between the alternative of contending for its success, or submitting to slavery. When the liberty of the negroes was proclaimed by France, he swore eternal fidelity and attachment to the mother country. Raised to the rank of Captain of Chasseurs in GUADALOUPE, and having the command of a battery which was attacked by the English, he fought with extreme bravery, and did not surrender till all his people were killed or wounded. Put on board an English vessel, to be conducted a prisoner to England, he conceived and executed the project to seize upon the vessel and conduct her to Brest. This bold enterprise restored him to liberty and to France, where he made a campaign against the rebels of La Vendee, under General WESTERMANN. He was summoned to Paris to give information respecting the taking of GUADALOUPE, and in the third Year of the Republic was attached to the Adjutants General of the army in St. Domingo. He arrived in that Island after the affair of 30th of Ventose, which endangered the life of General LAVEAUX;

and became the zealous defender of the agents of the French government, and the support of the opprest Europeans.

Placed by the nature of his service near to Toussaint Louverture, his military talents and the high character he had acquired among the negroes, gained him the confidence of Toussaint, and the rank of Adjutant-General of the army of St. Domingo. It was in this intimate connection with that Negro Chief that he penetrated into the secret of his ambition. His courage in opposing it incurred Toussaint's vengeance, when he found his reward in the suffrage of the people of St. Domingo, who appointed him Deputy to the Council of Five Hundred.

In that Assembly, opposed almost alone to the numerous partizans of Toussaint, he unveiled his ambition, and in the sixth Year of the Republic denounced the project of independence of the Negro Chief. Charges of partiality and revenge, heaped upon him by the agents of Toussaint, could not affect his constancy. He sent memorials on the subject of his fears for the mother country to the Executive Directory, and several of the Journals were made the depositaries of his strong remonstrances and warnings, which he never ceased to publish till the clamour was so loud against him, that he incurred the greatest personal risk without benefit to the public service. This Negro Officer was excluded from the Legislative Body on the 18th Brumaire.

Among the anecdotes which characterise the humane and generous heart of this man, I shall give

only one, which is recorded in all the Journals in Nivose, 9th Year of the Republic. Being at Brest, he was on board the Frigate La Creole, when one of the seamen fell overboard, and being carried away by a high sea, was on the point of being drowned. While a multitude of spectators lamented his fate, Mentor leaped into the sea, and at the hazard of his own life brought him safe to the ship.

[7] All the Emigrant Colonists, who commanded corps under the English colours, were received into the army of Toussaint, with their respective ranks. They still serve under this Negro Chief, and will, no doubt, prove themselves the most obstinate enemies of the French engaged in the present expedition.

In the Journal of L'Ami des Loix, of the date of the 24th Messidor, 6th Year of the Republic, is a letter from Citizen Etienne Mentor, which gives a faithful picture of the treaty of Toussaint Louverture with the English.

" If the capitulation of which you have given a " copy," says this Negro Officer, at that time a Deputy of the Council of Five Hundred, " is correct, " the French General who signed it is worthy of " death. It is not the English who have capitulat- " ed, for he who capitulates is he who receives the " law from his enemy. Is it not wholly incredible, " that the French General, at the head of twenty " thousand men, before a place without ramparts, " and open on all sides, should permit a weak gar- " rison, reduced by the yellow fever and desertion, " to carry away, on the evacuation of the place,

"the money, merchandize, ammunition, and provi-
"sions, and to render the cannon incapable of ser-
"vice? How could he receive it as a condition to
"guarantee the lives and property of the inhabi-
"tants that remained in the Island? If they were
"good and faithful Citizens, it was an outrage to
"suppose they would be ill-treated by him. If
"they were Emigrants, or had entered into the con-
"spiracy of those who had delivered up to the
"English part of the colony, a territory of the Re-
"public, or had carried arms against the Republic,
"how was he entitled to grant them impunity? It
"is painful for me to say it, Citizens, but I perceive
"in this scandalous treaty the hand of priests and
"emigrants that surrounded TOUSSAINT at my
"departure from St. Domingo.—Perhaps it would
"be to judge that General too severely, to conclude
"from all this a culpable intercourse with England,
"but events will shew to what degree my suspicions
"are founded."

[8] How is it possible the English should have forgot the treachery of TOUSSAINT toward them, in 1795, six or seven months after the massacre of the Spaniards at LA MARMELADE, and his joining the standard of the Republic. This circumstance, which is very little known, deserves to be recorded. An English officer, Major ——— occupied the town of ST. MARK and its neighbourhood. TOUSSAINT, who at that time had the strongest motives to acquire the confidence of General LAVEAUX, and to gain the public opinion, resolved to make himself master of St. Mark by a stratagem. He conveyed to the English officer

a private message to the following effect:—That, being disgusted with the service of the Republic, he wished to serve under the English colours; and that he was ready to deliver up to him LES GONAIVES, LES VERETTES, and other places under his command, if the English officer would give him a meeting at the PONT DE L'ESTER.

The English officer, too readily confiding in TOUSSAINT, was on his way to the appointed place, with part of his troops, when fortunately some one awakened him to a sense of his danger, by impressing upon him the character of TOUSSAINT, a man inured to perfidy, and who made a jest of violating the most sacred engagements.

The English officer was induced to return. Unwilling, however, to lose so favourable an opportunity if TOUSSAINT was sincere, he deputed in his place GAUTHIER, a French emigrant, the second in command at ST. MARK. When GAUTHIER arrived at the place of rendezvous, TOUSSAINT, furious at having missed his prey, arrested him, and sent him a prisoner to PORT DE PAIX, where he was shot, on these two accusations: as an emigrant, and for having attempted to corrupt the virtuous GENERAL TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE!

9. One of the most dangerous members of TOUSSAINT's council, the principal framer of his constitution, and he who drew up his denunciations against SANTONAX, HEDOUVILLE, and ROUME, and who has contrived to make himself master of two-thirds of the estates in the north of St. Domingo, is named PASCAL, and is the son-in-law of RAYMOND. He

was sent to CAPE FRANCAIS by the Executive Directory in the fourth year of the Republic, with the appointment of Secretary General of the French agency there. This man is at present the private and confidential secretary of TOUSSAINT : no doubt he will desert him, to secure the fruits of his rapine, which he has had the precaution to remit to the United States of America.

10 Among the numerous anecdotes which prove the perfidious policy of TOUSSAINT, I shall give the following ; which, although connected with a just cause, does not the less exhibit his profound hypocrisy : At the time of the affair of the 30th of VENTOSE, of which I have spoken in the course of this work, and which threatened to be fatal to GENERAL LAVEAUX ; fortunately for him, TOUSSAINT having resolved to sustain his interests, invited to his house the several officers who commanded at GROS MORNE, PLAISANCE, VERETTES, and other places, all Mulatto Chiefs, and informed them in pretended confidence of the conspiracy against GENERAL LAVEAUX. He added, that he was prepared to march against him, and to bring him to trial for a design to reduce the Blacks to slavery and deliver the colony to the English. The Mulatto Chiefs, who were connected with the conspiracy, and silently waited the event of the 30th of Ventose to declare themselves openly, were enraptured with the disposition TOUSSAINT displayed to them. They congratulated him on the part he was about to take, and endeavoured to excuse themselves for not having sooner opened their enterprize

to him. At that moment TOUSSAINT, rising hastily from his seat, cried out "Guards, seize these re-"bels!" Soldiers, who were concealed in the adjoining apartment, rushed in, and arrested the Mulatto officers, who were thrown into prison at MORNE BLANC and PETITE RIVIERE. Negro officers of the army of TOUSSAINT were appointed to their several commands.

[11] The illustrious part which this Negro has acted during the troubles of his unhappy country induces me to give the reader a short sketch of his life, every instant of which seems to have been dedicated to acts of humanity and beneficence!

CÆSAR TELEMAQUE, who is now nearly sixty years of age, is a native of SAINTE PIERRE in the island of MARTINIQUE. He married a Frenchwoman at Paris about thirty-six years since, who is still living. He resided nearly forty-nine years in Paris, in the RUE DU SENTIER. His gentle manners, and the known benignity of his temper, induced his section, in the third year of the Republic, to appoint him Commissary of Charitable Benefactions. The zeal and patience with which he discharged the offices of that situation during that year, too famous in the Revolution, will for ever render him dear to all his fellow citizens. The unfortunate were never received by him in that rude manner which converts a benefit into an injury; and, when the public means failed, he supplied them, as far as he could, from his own property.

In the fourth year of the Republic he departed for St. Domingo with SANTONAX; and on his ar-

rival at that island was appointed treasurer at Port de Paix. But the situation which was most adapted to his humane heart was that which his friend Etienne Mentor obtained for him at the Cape, in pointing him out to the people as a man peculiarly fitted to exercise the paternal functions of a justice of peace.

In this situation he merited and obtained the esteem and confidence of all good men. His name inspired respect: the Negroes gloried in having him for a countryman, and the Europeans for a magistrate. With this character it is easy to judge what was his courage, his solicitude, and his danger, during that horrible night when the town of Cape François was delivered to fire and sword by the execrable agents of Toussaint!

Worthy and amiable Citizen! receive in this place the homage due from every feeling heart! Your virtues offer a recompence to humanity for the crimes of your nation: and history, in conveying to after times the bloody deeds of your countrymen in St. Domingo, will console the mind of the reader with thy great and noble actions!

FINIS.

